AKBARNĀMA.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

Introduction.

Almighty God![1] What a profound thought and glorious idea it is that the subtle apprehenders of truth, whose bright minds are like the breath of morning, and who are keen-sighted students of the

[1] *Allāh Akbar* (Arabic,—*Allāhu Akbar*) *God is very Great.* This expression is called the *takbīr*—the magnifying—and is often used at the commencement of undertakings. A.F. places it at the beginning of the *Akbarnāma* and also of the *Āīn*. Blochmann says, (166n.) "The words *Allāhu Akbar* are ambiguous; they may mean, 'God is Great,' or 'Akbar is God.' There is no doubt that Akbar liked the phrase for its ambiguity; for it was used on coins, the imperial seals and the heading of books, *farmāns*, etc." He then translates from Badāonī, (II, 210) as follows; "It was during these days "(A.H. 983=1575-6) that His Majesty "once asked how people would like "it, if he ordered the words *Allāhu* "*Akbar* to be cut on the imperial seal "and the dies of his coins. Most "said, people would like it very "much. But Ḥājī Ibrāhīm objected "and said, the phrase had an ambiguous meaning and the Emperor "might substitute the Koran verse "*Lazikru Allāhi akbaru—To think of* "*God is the greatest thing*—because "it involved no ambiguity. But His "Majesty got displeased and said, it "was surely sufficient that no man "who felt his weakness would claim "divinity; he merely looked to the "sound of the words and he had "never thought that a thing could "be carried to such an extreme." Mr. Lowe (230) has copied this translation but it seems to me that Mr. Blochmann meant to write "*self-evident*," and not "*sufficient*," for the Persian is خود معین است *khwud mu'aiyan ast*. Mr. Rehatsek ("Akbar's Repudiation of Islām," 14) translates: "But the Emperor was "not pleased and replied, 'It is self-'evident that no man can in his per-'fect weakness pretend to be God. 'Our intention is based on the literal 'meaning and there is no occasion

schedules[1] of Creation and drawers[2] of diagrams on the tablet of wisdom and perception, have not, with the exception of Speech which is but a vagrant breeze and fluctuating gale, found in the combinations[3] of the elements or in material[4] forms, anything so sublime, or a jewel so rare that it come not within the mould of price, that Reason's balance cannot weigh it, that Language's measure cannot contain it, and that it be beyond the scale of Thought;—and yet, how should it be otherwise? Without help of Speech, the inner world's capital could not be built, nor this evil outer world's civilization be conceived.

'to transfer it (to my name.)'" I think the passage might be rendered thus, "He (Akbar) did not approve, "and observed, 'It is self-evident 'that a humble slave cannot claim 'the Godhead; we are thinking only 'of the verbal coincidence (with our 'own name), there is no sense in put-'ting such an interpretation (as you 'have suggested) on the phrase.'" The word مناسبت *manāsabat*—which I have translated *coincidence* occurs thrice in the beginning of the *Akbarnāma* in the sense of connection, *viz.*, Bib. Ind. ed. 2, ll. 2 and 9 fr. foot and 22, l. 6.

The conversation is, on the whole, creditable both to Akbar and Ḥājī Ibrāhīm. Akbar, I think, admitted that he chose the phrase on account of its consonance with his name but denied that he had any intention of claiming to be God. Probably Ḥājī Ibrāhīm's well-meant suggestion would not have mended matters, for people would still have remarked on the double significance of the words. See further on this point, Badāonī II. 268 (Lowe, 277). In Faiẓī's *Dīwān*, there is a long poem in praise of Akbar, every couplet of which ends with the words, *Allāh Akbar*.

[1] جد اول plural of جدول, *jadwal*, a column. The word is often used to signify astronomical tables or catalogues.

[2] پرکار گشایان lit.: compass-openers.

[3] ترکّب عنصري, *tarakkub 'unṣurī*: lit.: elemental combination or insertion of one element in another. The similar phrase ترکیب عنصري occurs in *Āīn*, No. 4 (13, 111.) *Tarakkub* is used in the *Akbarnāma* (22, l. 6) in opposition to *tajarrud*, *i.e.*, singleness or nudity. It appears that the phrase refers to the four compounds described in *Āīn* No. 13 about the origin of metals. There it is said that the Creator, by calling into existence the four elements, has raised up wondrous forms (*paikarhā*). Further on, we are told that four compounds (*murakkab*), are called into existence, *viz.*: 1st, *āṯār-i-'ulwī*, doings from on high, as rain, snow, etc.; 2nd, stones; 3rd, plants; 4th, animals. (Blochmann 39.)

[4] پیکر هیولاني, *paikar haiyūlānī* material form. *Haiyūlānī* is from the Greek ὕλη, *matter*. I think the expression is synonymous or nearly so with *tarakkub 'anṣarī*. The ma-

VERSE.[1]

What a Word[2] was that whose utterance
Unveiled the eighteen thousand![3]
No feast equals it in intoxicating power;
No rival comes nigh it in supremacy.
It is the initiator in the workshop;
It sits enthroned in the palace.
Whatever reaches the heart of the wise,
The heart utters to the tongue and the tongue rehearses to the ear.
Its path is from the *adit* to the *exit* of hearts;
Expression and audition are its arena.
In reason's observatory[4] the tongue and the ear
Are the rising[5] and setting of speech's moon.

We cannot reach its sublime foundation by the ladder[6] of the

terial forms must also be combinations of the elements.

1 These lines are Faiẓī's and in his *Markazi-adwār* (Centre of Circles) in the canto in praise of Speech. (B. M. Add. No. 7795, 25b. Rieu's Cat. II. 671). The MS. has *bar arbābi-hosh* in the last line in place of *bar raṣadgāhi-hosh*.

2 Meaning the word of two letters *kāf* and *nūn*, *i.e.*, *k* and *n*, كن, *Kun*, *Fiat*, Be, which God uttered at the Creation. "*Zi kāf wa nūn barūn āward kūnain.*" Exordium of *Gulshan-i-rāz*.

3 It is a Muhammadan idea that the number of created species was 18,000. See Badāonī II. 320 (Lowe, 330). Also *Akbarnāma* 9, l. 11. Meninski *s.v.* '*alam*, quoting from the Turkish says, "*Deus octodecim millia mundorum creavit.*" I cannot find any explanation of the choice of the number 18,000. Perhaps it was adopted as being a multiple of the mysterious number 9, and 9,000 was doubled to allow for male and female creations.

The *Majma'u-t-tawārīkh* (quoted by Anquetil du Perron, *Zendavesta*, II 352n.), says the first man was called Gilshāh—earth-lord—and that he had a son and daughter named Mesci and Mescianēh, and that after 50 years, they had 18 children. At least this is another instance of the use of the number 18 and perhaps a partial explanation of the "18,000."

4 *Raṣadgāh*. Observatories are described in the *Āīn* (II, 265) as wonderful buildings with upper and lower windows and placed on elevated spots where mists cannot reach them. See also l. c. 266 where the word *raṣad* is explained.

5 Lit. are its east and west.

6 Alluding, apparently, to the notion that there are nine heavens one above another.

skies nor can the swift foot of reason plant a step in its nature's mysterious wilderness. Its disposition[1] is fiery, its constitution aerial, its nature earthy but resembling water.[2] Its fount is the fire-temple of the heart; its culmination, the blissful abode of the atmosphere; it is as water in the flow of its traffic; earth's surface is its place of repose.

Judges of precedence in the ranks of glory, have in consonance with their knowledge and insight, recognized Speech as Commander-in-Chief[3] of Truth's army,—nay, as the true son and heir of the mind. They have felt it to be the Archimage[4] of knowledge, the fire-temple of the heart,—nay, to be the mind's first birth.[5] Espe-

---

1 The reference is to the four elements. MS. No. 564 says that speech is compared to fire, on account of its vehemence; to air, because it is breath; to earth, because its place of utterance is the tongue which belongs to the visible world; and to water, because of its smoothness and mobility.

2 ابنما, *ābnumā*, showing water or looking like water. *Āb* also means lustre and Chalmers translates "of liquid purity." But A. F. is evidently thinking of the element of water. See a similar passage in *Āīn* No. 4, (Bib. Ind. 13), where gold is compared to each of the four elements. There is a passage in A. F.'s preface to the *Āīn* where mankind is divided into four classes, corresponding to the four elements.

3 *Sipah-sālār*, lit: Soldier-Chief; but the description in the *Āīn* of the duties and qualifications of the *Sipah-sālār* shows that he was rather a Vizier or Prime Minister. Indeed A. F. begins by calling him the Vicegerent of his Majesty. (Jarrett II, 37).

4 *Mūbid mūbidāni-dānish*.

5 ابو الاباي, *abū-l-ābāī*, father of fathers; but the meaning is not that Speech is the forefather or first-parent of mind but that it is the Adam or primeval ancestor engendered by the mind.

The passage from "Judges" to "birth" is a military metaphor, for *ṣufūf* (ranks) means lines of soldiers and *anjuman* may mean an army. The phrase which I have rendered "true son and heir" is *khalaf-aṣ-ṣidq* or *khalaf ṣidq* and means a successor or perhaps "Vicar worthy of his proto-type." The *tashdīd* and article of Text seem unnecessary, Lane 795c.

Chalmers translates, "Those who can appreciate the highest grandeur, have by means of their sense and penetration understood this exalted foundation of the Council Room of Reason to be even the son (the MS. has *sun*—clearly a clerical error) of the sincerity of the heart and the kindred of wisdom have supposed it to be the furnace of the soul or rather the Palladium of the affections of the mind."

cially preëminent is that Speech[1] which is the ornamented argument of the splendid volume; adorned preface of the sublime code, that is, is the praise of the Lord of heaven and earth; panegyric of the Distributor of life and Creator of the body; which is at once 2
a stage of exaltation for the beginning and a heart-entrancing ornament for the close; at once caravan-conductor[2] of the eloquent and prince of eloquence; chamber-lamp of the sitters in darkness; solitude-adorning companion of the recluse; pain-increaser of the lovers of the path of God-seeking; ulcer-plaster of the wounded dwellers in the recess of impatience; cordial for the drinkers of sorrow's bitter tears; embalmer[3] of the broken-hearted denizens of the hermitage of silence; marshaller of the brave in the contests of divine love; banquet-lamp of the beloved[4] ones in the palace of peace; thirst-increaser[5] of thirsty-lipped inquirers; hunger-increaser

---

[1] It is difficult to regard all these expressions as referring to speech only and Chalmers has, apparently, considered them as descriptive of the Almighty, for after the words "Creator of the body" (See *infra*) he translates, "He bestows the basis of exaltation to the commencement of eternity." But I think the reference is really to speech and that A. F. is thinking of the *logos*. I learn from the translation of the *Gulshani-rāz* of my friend Mr. Whinfield, that Sufis rendered the Neo-Platonic *logos* by the phrase *'aql-i-kull*, universal reason. A. F.'s language may be compared with Niẓāmī's address to Speech (*sukhan*) at the beginning of the *Makhzanu-l-asrār*. The author of the *Ma'āṣir-l-umara* (II. 622) says that A. F. has been called a Niẓāmī in prose.

[2] The force of this antithesis or parallelism is not very clear, but apparently some such distinction as that between the Church militant and the Church triumphant is intended. While the eloquent are travelling, *i.e.*, marching on as praisers of God—and have not yet attained their goal, speech is their leader and when they have arrived at their resting place, *i.e.*, at perfection—speech becomes their sovereign. Chalmers translates. "He leads the Caravan of the Eloquent and He is the Prince of Oratory."

[3] Properly, pissasphalt. or, as Chalmers has it, embalming drug. The word in the text is *momiāī* from which comes our word *mummy*. We might therefore translate, *mummifier*.

[4] *Ma'shūq mizājān*, perhaps filled with love or excessively loving.

[5] *Istisqābakhsh* lit. giver of dropsy. Thirst is often an accompaniment of dropsy. Sa'dī (*Gulistān* II. Story 33), speaks of a dropsical person as not being satisfied even by the Euphrates, and there is a similar reference in the *Būstān* (III, l. 26) to the condition of a dropsical person.

of hungry-hearted ones in the wilderness of search. Hence it is that wakeful-hearted sages,—with all their tumult of love and restless longing,—have stayed the hand of contemplation at the hem of the divine canopy [1] and with thirsty lips, and blistered feet, and the gulping down of thousands of agitations and cries, have set the seal of silence on their lips and—wisely wrapping the foot of respect in the skirt of humility,—have not attempted what has not been vouchsafed to them from the almonry of destiny.

VERSE.

Letters[2] and dots are the desert sand in Thy perfect path.
In the universe of Thy wisdom, the city of speech is but some market-booths.[3]
The warders of jealousy[4] at Thy door, smite the understanding,
With blows of astonishment in front, and strokes of ignorance[5] from behind.

---

on the banks of the Nile. The Romans had a similar notion. See Ovid's *Fasti* (I. l. 215) and Horace's *Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops, Nec sitim pellit,*

A. F.'s meaning is that some knowledge of the Divine praise makes one thirst for more. Cf. A. F.'s *Inshā'* where Sharafu-d-dīn of Manīr is called a thirst-implanter. *Istisqā* also means praying for rain, and thus the epithet may mean that God puts a prayer for rain in the mouths of the thirsty, or that he grants their prayer for rain. The epithet following—*jū'-afzā*—may mean appetite-increaser.

[1] *Ḥaudaj* (howdah) which also means a camel-litter. It is probably used in this sense in the *Akbarnāma*, I. 14, l. 12 from foot.

[2] Lit. *points and letters.* By the dots are meant the diacritical points. The lines are Faiẓī's. See *Āīn* I. 236, and Blochmann, 550. Mr. Blochmann renders the lines, thus;—

"Science is like blinding desert-
"sand on the road to Thy perfection;
"the town of literature is a mere
"hamlet, compared with the world
"of Thy knowledge. Thy jealousy,
"the guard of Thy door, stuns
"human thought by a blow in the
"face and gives human ignorance a
"slap on the nape of the neck."

Chalmers has,—"The Viceroy of
"dismay spurns our fancy from Thy
"door;—With the blow of stupor
"upon its front and the thrust of
"ignorance from behind."

[3] روستا *rūstā*, a market-town or hamlet.

[4] Or perhaps, *the watchmen of Thy jealousy.* A. F. speaks (42, l. 10) of the Divine jealousy's preserving from public knowledge the true character of Akbar's horoscope.

[5] The meaning seems to be that the human understanding is

In other words, praise of the incomparable Deity lies outside the field of possibility, and the panegyric of the unequalled God is beyond the field of existence.[1]

VERSE.

Wherever discourse[2] deals with the knowledge of God,
Our thoughts' praise becomes dispraise.
Behold rashness, how it boils over with daring!
Can a drop embrace the ocean?
Think not that it is even a single letter of the Book,[3]

---

encountered by amazement (Cf. Gray's "amazement in his van.") when it attempts to fathom the Divine mysteries and is also buffetted by its own ignorance.

1 اکوان *akwān*.—There is a Hindi word *akwān* signifying calculation but here, *akwān* seems to be the plural of کن *kun*, existence or world.

2 حدیث *ḥadīṣ*, which may either mean tradition or simply mention or discourse. It also means new or recent and perhaps the author of the lines wished to take advantage of these meanings. I think the primary meaning here is *talk* or *discourse* for the lines are Faiẓī's and we find him elsewhere using *ḥadīṣ* in the sense of discourse; *e.g.*, *Akbarnāma* III. 687, l. 10, where, addressing himself, the poet says, "Faiẓī! keep silent from this discourse!" The lines in our Text occur (but in other order) in the selection from Faiẓī's poems given in the *Akbarnāma*, III, 684, l, 2 and 683, last line.)

Chalmers thus translates the lines:—

"When our traditions could trace the knowledge of God,
"Our most grateful thoughts become ingratitude.
"Behold our arrogance in the ebullition of our daring
"When a drop would clasp the ocean in its embrace,
"Think not any volume contains a letter of it;
"For a letter is but as flax and it is the shining Moon.
"How long wilt thou arrange the harness of thy speech,
"Place thy step here with the offering of helplessness.

3 This difficult couplet receives illustration from the beginning of a letter to Shāh 'Abbās of Persia in the first book of the *Inshā*.' There it is said that, if all the dots of our intelligences and all the schedules of our thoughts were combined with the armies of knowledge and troops of sciences, their total would not represent one letter of the Book of Praise, or be one ray of the Sun. And then we are told, in evident allusion to Sa'dī's famous couplet about the leaves of the trees, that the works of creation praise God with a tongueless tongue. It is clear then that the word book (*kitāb*) is used in the above verse, in a mystical sense for the mysterious Record of the Divine Praise.

For the Letter is muslin [1] and the Book moonlight.
How long wilt thou be an embroiderer [2] of speech?
Stay thy foot here, with the acknowledgment [3] of humility.

So long as there is no link between terrestrials and celestials, and the path of speech between the earthly and the heavenly is closed, what intercourse can there be between the limited and the unlimited, so that an atom of the dust can have any lot in the pure, world-warming Sun? What goal in the boundless plains of necessity and eternity is possible for a prisoner in the subterraneous vault of accident and modernity; and what strength can he have to traverse them? What portion can a bewildered, headless and footless mote [4] have in the beams of the world-lighting Sun? It can only be tossed about in the wind. What is a dewdrop to the swelling ocean or to the cloud surcharged with rain? 'Tis but the vaunt of a parched lip. Pity it were that a mote should discourse about the Illuminator of the assemblage of existences and, though it know him not, and cannot address him, yet should speak of him and search for him!

What connection is there between the dark defile and the courts of light; between non-entity and absolute being? The creature may never attain such knowledge of the Creator, as to be able to draw even a few breaths in the rare atmosphere of the praise of His mysteries
3 (*maknūnāt*) or to plant some steps in the field of the comprehension of the wonders [5] of His store-houses (*makhzūnāt*). How then can he

---

1 كتان *katān*. The Lucknow editor says *katān* is a kind of cloth that goes to pieces when exposed to the moonlight. Blochmann (94) says (*katān*) "generally translated by *linen*. All dictionaries agree that it is exceedingly thin, so much so that it tears when the moon shines on it; — it is muslin." A. F. (*Āīn* I. 106.) calls it *katān-i-farangī*, *i.e.*, European *katān*. (See Vullers *s. v.*, and the *Burhāni-qāṭi'*. Apparently *katān* is our word cotton.

2 محمل, *maḥmil*, means a camel-litter. It is also the term for the cloth which is sent annually from Egypt, as a covering for the *Ka'ba*. The lines are Faiẓī's. See *Akbarnāma* III. 684, l. 6.

3 دست اویز, *dastāwīz*. This word which Chalmers translates *offering*, is commonly used in India to mean a document, voucher or exhibit.

4 The mote is supposed to be in love with the sun. Blochmann 597 n. and 606 n.

5 عجایب *'ajāib* does not occur in the Text after *idrāk*, but it is found in No. 564, in three MSS. of the R. A. S. and in three of the A. S. B. Chalmers' MS. also seems to have had it.

be fit to enter the courts of the Creator's praise? For him who has no right of approach, to speak of the Sultan's privy chamber, is only to be exposed to ridicule and to make himself a public laughing-stock.

VERSE.[1]

Though the foot of Speech be long of stride,
Thy curtain-stone[2] hath shattered it.
Though Speech be fat and lusty,
It is lean[3] when it reaches Thy table.

O Thou! Higher than our imaginary[4] heavens and more exalted than the plane of the elements and than the stars, inasmuch as Thou hast not bestowed on us knowledge of Thy essence and attributes, it is manifest that Thou regardest not thanksgiving as within our powers, and seeing that Thou hast conferred on us mercies which are infinite, it follows that Thou hast not laid upon us the obligation of adequate gratitude!

When I saw that the door of utterance was closed, I perceived that of action open and said to myself in ecstacy;—

"If thou hast not the power of utterance and canst not chaunt "panegyrics, be not cast down, for it is the smooth-tongued and "empty-handed who, by a fraudulent barter, traffic words at the "rate of realities. The praise which is laid upon mankind[5] as a "duty, by the commands of the Understanding,—that world-obeyed

---

[1] Both couplets are from the *Makẖzanu'l-asrār* of Niẓāmī. See Bland's ed. 3, l.42 and 21. l.380. Niẓāmī was a favourite author with Akbar. Blochmann, 104.

[2] Qu. a stone placed upon the edge of a curtain to prevent its blowing aside. Perhaps simply stone of the threshold.

[3] That is, from the length of the journey.

[4] *Kursī-i-'aqūl ū awhām.* The *kursī* or throne is the crystalline or eighth heaven and below the *'arsh* which is the empyrean—the ninth heaven or the heaven of heavens. The *kursī* is supposed to be God's judgment seat and the author's meaning seems to be that God is higher than any such imaginary throne. Lane (*s. v. kursī*) quotes an authority as saying that the *kursī* is the place of the feet, and *s. v. 'arsh*, quotes a saying of Muhammad that the seven heavens and earths, by the side of the *kursī*, are naught but as a ring thrown down in a desert land; and such is the *kursī* with respect to the *'arsh* (the empyrean.)

[5] خانوادهٔ امکانی *khānwāda-i-imkānī lit.* the family of contingent existences.

"sovereign,—is that they make the night-illuminating jewel of "reason,—one of the bountiful Divine Ruler's greatest gifts,—into "a bright lamp, and employ it for sweeping and cleansing the courts "of their outer and inner man. Should the taskmasters[1] of fate's "workshop have attired a son of Adam in the garb of want and "solitude, let him first of all gird up his loins for self-culture and "afterward let him endeavour the improvement of others. Should "they have brought him into a crowd of associations and contacts— "as may be inevitable in the arrangements of this evil world,—let "him, if a ruler, prefer the betterment of others to his own; for "the duty of the shepherd is watching the flock, and the design "of sovereignty is universal guardianship. If he be a subject, "let him, first of all, show alacrity in obeying the orders of his "legitimate ruler,[2] and then let him cleanse the secret chambers "of his heart from the dust of heavy-pacing sensuality and nimble- "footed wrath, so that, by his life and conversation, he be a teacher "and a testimony of the incomparable Giver and Cherisher of his "outer and inner man."

When the communing with my heart had proceeded thus far, a resting-stage showed itself afar off to my bewildered mind, and my thoughts were pleasant for a while. My astonied heart was, it is true, saddened by the length and difficulty of the journey, but was cheered by the sound of the machinery of movement,[3] and by the good tidings of eventual arrival. Suddenly the thoughtful foot of my boding spirit came upon a stone; for the praise of God does not consist in comprehending His perfect attributes and assigning[4]

---

1 *Mantaẓimān*, *lit.* arrangers or managers.

2 اوامر من لّه الامر, *awāmiru mallahu al āmru*;—an Arabic phrase signifying the commands of him to whom is command, *i.e.*, who has right to command. See verse of the Koran in the document preserved by Badāonī. (II. 271, l. 9. Lowe 279. Koran, *Sura* IV. 62.)

3 آهنگ ساز راه, *āhang-i-sāz-i-rāh*. *Āhang* means symphony and also intention or resolution. Perhaps the expression refers to the tinkling of the camels' bells. Chalmers has "the sweet-sounding of the instruments of travel." The meaning appears to be that, though the way is long and difficult, the mind of the pilgrim is cheered by the thought that he is moving on, and will eventually reach his goal.

4 *Lit.* connect them with His court.

them to His Essence; nor is it the reckoning up of His benefits which are without beginning or end, and by dint[1] of these wares of new-fangled[2] praise, thrusting oneself forward; nor[3] should we regard praise as beyond human comprehension and so, stop short of the

[1] *Lit.* alongside or abreast of.

[2] حدوث آلود, *ḥadūṯ-ālūd*, stained with novelty. The text has an *iẓāfat* between *ḥaduṯ-ālūd* and the following *kẖudrā* which would, I think, be better away. It is not in No. 564.

[3] I read ي *yā*, instead of ت *tā*, as this seems to me to make the better sense. It also appears to be the reading adopted by Chalmers. Most texts, however, read *tā*. The Elliot MS. (Bodleian 4*a*) has *yā* and the Walker MS. (Bodleian 115) had *yā* also but this has been altered into *tā*,—I suppose by the copyist. B.M. MS. Add. No. 6544 has also *yā*. B.M. MS. Add. No. 5610 has *tā*. *Tā* may be right and the meaning be that the result of attempting to number the Divine benefits, *etc.*, is that one finds the calculation beyond one's power and so gives up praise in despair. The translation, in this case, would run thus; "Until" (or "with the result that") "one recognizes that praise is beyond human comprehension and so joins those who have fallen short of the portico of praise." The author's meaning seems to be that for awhile he thought he had come to see what was "the chief end of man," *viz.*, to do his best in the situation in which he might be placed. This cheered him in spite of the path's being long and hard, but suddenly, a fresh difficulty presented itself, for he recognized that the praise of God which perhaps, we should call Theology and which the author regarded as man's prime care. Cf. the Shorter Catechism—"man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy him for ever" did not consist in either of the two following things;

1. Attempting to comprehend the inscrutable.

2. Much speaking about His bounties, hoping thereby to win God's favour and to have glory of men.

Nor again was it right to abandon the study of Theology as beyond our powers, and devote our energies to the improvement of our own miserable selves, even if such endeavour were after moral as well as material advancement. No! true Theology or Divine worship consisted in renouncing the attempt either to fathom the Divine mysteries or to recount His benefits and to take refuge in acknowledgment of our baseness and impotence. The author's view, in short, is that expressed in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, of which perhaps, he may have heard from his friend Aquaviva. These reflections led him to see that he must strive after worshipping God, though in a different fashion from that of the theologians, and eventually he found rest in the discovery that the highest form of Doxology was to record the achievements,—spiritual and temporal—of that Divine master-piece, the

porch of thanksgiving; nor should we style self-culture[1] the recital of the Divine praise, and growing weary-hearted[2] at the darkness of the road and the distance of the goal, regard such self-deception as a gain, and with abandonment of thanksgiving, set about whatever the cheatery of the hour represent as our true aim.

Rather the *note* of Praise is to lay this praise-loving, self-adorning, self-auctioning spirit[3] on the threshold of service, at the base of supplication and humiliation and to cast it down from the *arch*[4] of

---

Emperor Akbar. Unfortunately we may say of Abū-l-faẓl what has been predicated of the poet Young—that he never gets hold of a thought that he does not tear it to pieces.

As the passage is difficult, I give Chalmers' translation below :—

"For the meaning of the giving "praise to the Almighty is neither "that we should inquire into the "qualities of His perfection and then "apply them to His Majesty—nor "that we should reckon up the "endless bounties of Eternity and "then offer up in return for them, "the fabricated wares of our own "commendations; nor should we "suppose them too excellent for "human ken and thus despair of "reaching the portico of gratitude; "nor should we denominate the adorn-"ment of ourselves, the recital of "God's praises; nor become sorrow-"ful of heart from the dimness of the "path and the delicacy of the under-"taking, and seizing the opportunity "of empty excuses, refrain from "shewing forth His praises by com-"mencing with the evasion which "may appear most plausible for the "purpose. But rather the true "intent of God's praise is this;— "that our grateful soul should place "self-conceit and self-boasting on "the threshold of obedience at the "footstool of submission and devo-"tion, and thus expel them from the "palace of self-interest; so that our "real helplessness may be decked "with the semblance of piety and our "inward and outward man may be "adorned with humility and poverty "which will thus suit the seemliness "of the breast of our purpose and "tend towards the praise of the "bounteous Creator of the Universe." Chalmers' MS. I. 7.)

1 *Khweshtan-arāi-i-khudrā.* I think this means self-improvement, rather than self-glorification. It refers, as No. 564 remarks, to the endeavours after a better life mentioned above. It may, however, mean self-advancement, *i.e.*, striving to "get on" without thinking of anything higher.

2 *Afgār-khāṭir, lit.* cripple-hearted, thus keeping up the metaphor of an exhausted wayfarer.

3 نفس سپاس, *nafs-i-sipās. Nafs* has many meanings but is generally rendered *spirit* or *breath.* Here perhaps, it means something more material and might almost be translated *body;* else how can the author speak of its being flung down, etc.?

4 طاق, *tāqṭ*, arch or archway, also alcove. *Ṭāqi-nazr* appears to be a

NOTE.

The following passage was accidentally omitted. It should come in at p. 13, l. 11, at the end of the second paragraph, and immediately after the word "thanksgiving."

"Inasmuch as my aim was lofty, and my intent majestic, my scheming soul could not extricate herself from confusion and set free the word-framing tongue. My constitution would not allow that, like the ignorant and the imitative, I should enter the Praise-Court of the most glorious God by force of words and ejaculations, and be soothed by borrowed metaphor and hackneyed phrase. Nor yet would my effusive zeal permit that I should, after the manner of feeble-souled sages, refrain from searching after Him, or stay my lips from speech concerning him, and thus by a contradictory confession,[1] disparate from one's practice in secular matters, proclaim inability and simultaneously hold one's self forth as a right-thinking utterer of verities."

---

[1] *Iqrār-i-nāqiṣ.* The meaning seems to be that the same person who excuses himself from praising God by the plea of inability, yet in other matters, for instance in returning thanks to men, claims to be endowed with eloquence. Chalmers has "a lame conclusion which obtains not in other matters." Perhaps he read *qarān.*

self-consciousness and self-regard, so that its inward poverty may be adorned by outward submissiveness, and its inner and outer nature be decked with humility and lowliness till fitness[1] grace the bosom of purpose and be turned into praise of the Omnipotent Creator.

Now as such wares[2] of thanksgiving are abundant in the booths of men and are especially plentiful in my own stall, why do I withhold myself from Divine praise and why do I delay to laud the Eternal One? Under any circumstances, it is better for me to escape from this deceiving misery of self-pleasing and to address myself to the heights of lofty thanksgiving.

I was a long time in perplexity, having neither ability to speak nor power to remain silent, when suddenly a door of light was opened by the intellect, that glory of life, and my confused heart found the neck of hope fitted with the noose of resolution. This message came to the ear of guidance, "Artist in Truth's picture "gallery! dost thou not compose a book whose frontispiece thou "mayest adorn with praise? Thou art inditing the history of the "Lord of time and the terrene (*zamīn ū zamān*) and Crown-jewel of "monarchs, and praise to God will come into the writing, and thanks-"giving to the Almighty be part of the picture! praise of praise is "not right; the works of the Artificer are the perfect praise of the "pure God and acknowledge[3] him with a tongueless tongue."

"They (the works of creation) by conferring this knowledge, "grant to the soul-awakened and inwardly-cultured, possession of "Light absolute and bring them into the vast shadow of praise which "together with its delights, is the highest dignity (*manṣab*) of celes-"tial existences."[4]

---

poetical phrase for the eye, *viz.*, the arch of sight.

[1] I omit the *iẓāfat* after *shaistagī*. If this be retained, the translation will be "until" (or "and") "it be fitted to the fitness of the bosom of its purpose."

[2] متاع سپاس, *matā'-i-sipās*, merchandise of praise. I suppose that this praise, like the *matā'-i-sitūdagī* on the previous page, must mean *words*, of which the author had no doubt a great stock.

[3] *Cf.* Addison's hymn.

[4] وجوب وجود, *wajūb-i-wajūd*, necessary existences. The reference is to the glorified spirits of saints and prophets. *Cf.* a passage in the letter to Shāh 'Abbās, already mentioned; *ẓall maḥāmid kibriyā khudāwandī*, the shadow of the laudable qualities of the Almighty.

"Now[1] it is manifest that no nobler impress or sublimer jewel "is to be seen in the material world,[2] than the exalted presence of "powerful princes who by their holy energy, regulate the outer world "and knit it together. And assuredly, to make over a world to one "man and to consign to him the momentous affairs of a universe is "to incorporate in him the world of reality, or rather to make him its "soul. Especially if he be a world-adorner seized with the desire "of inhaling the fragrant breezes of Truth's spring-time and is seated "on the lofty throne of felicity. Still more if he be the Lord of "an Age who in addition to these two[3] endowments, has a heart "and mind fed from a hidden fountain. Above all, if he be that "altar of the pious who by the Divine aid, has risen above these "degrees and has become colourist of the House of Truth, banquet-"illuminator of the Hall of Realities, confidant of the Presence "Chamber, intimate of the pure palace of unity, and is by auspicious "fate seated on the throne of fortune. Sway over the outer and inner "world and unravelment of knots, both spiritual and temporal, are "conspicuous in him. Therefore is he the adorner of the imperial "throne; the uplifter of the banner of God's shadow in our happy "age; aggregation of the artists of thought and wisdom, or rather "master-piece of the eternal artificers. With such vast stores of true "praise in thy keeping, why remainest thou distraught in search?"

On hearing this soul-refreshing message, the morning breeze of felicity arose; the stock of eternal bliss was collected; the eye of hope grew bright; the outer world became current coin; the inner world exulted; the skirt of success fell into my hand; the wished-for countenance came in sight.

Good God! What a strange mystery it is that in historical

---

1 The line of thought seems to be, that the works of the Creator are His highest panegyric and that the greatest of these works on earth is a king, consequently the description of a great king is the highest form of Divine praise. Evidently A. F. would not have agreed with Pope as to what was the noblest work of God.

2 عالم عنصر, *ālam-i-unṣur*, the elemential world, *i.e.*, the world made up of the four elements. The meaning is that even in the world of matter, there is no gem so precious as a king, much grander then is one who is not only a king but a saint, etc.

3 "Meaning love of truth and good fortune; the latter being considered a virtue of no mean order in the East." (Chalmers MS. n.)

writings, praise of the pure Giver is introduced as an adornment to the book, whereas here, the book is adorned in order to the praise of the Creator. In the pages of secularists, praise comes in as ancillary to the design of the book, but in this glorious history, the design is subservient to the praise. According to the old method, God's praise was effected by utterance; in this new rendezvous on Reason's highway, action is praise. My predecessors relied on speech for God's praise; in this exordium of rare writing, recourse is had to the perfect man[1] who is a God-worshipping king, *viz.*, that Lord of the World who, by virtue of his God-seeking and God-apprehending, has removed the veil from between the external and the internal and has established love between the sections of the recluse and the layman[2] and has lifted up the curtain from in front[3] of the apparent and the real.

Heedlessness which used to travel on the opposite road to discretion, has retraced his steps and become one of wisdom's servants. Formalism[4] which had left the regions of inquiry and was stirring up tumults, has now thrown inquiry's scarf on his shoulder and become a minister at the shrine. Blind self-worship which had abandoned the worship of God and adopted the worship of the creature, has now got eyes to see with and has come, ashamed and downcast, to the temple of divine worship.

Blear-eyed envy which had megrim[5] in the head and madness in the brain, and used to strive against the Allwise Lawgiver, has now got wisdom for his guide, and, having become enrolled as one of the pardoned of the shrine of grace,[6] has been ranked among the helpers of the kingdom. Painful longing—the health, indeed,

---

[1] *Lit.* lords of abstraction (or nakedness) and masters of connexion.

[2] Chalmers has, "from between the fleshly and the spiritual" and this may be the meaning, but the expression is "in front of both."

[3] انسان كامل, *insān-i-kāmil*. This is a Sufistic phrase and is explained by Jorjānī. (*Notices et Extraits* X. 386, Silvestre de Saçy.) The phrase *perfect man* does not mean simply an impeccable person, in which sense the expression was used, I believe, by Whitfield. It rather means the essence or highest type of humanity. It is also explained as meaning the first intelligence, or,—in Arabic phrase,—the mother of the book. De Saçy says "L'homme parfait est la même chose que la première intelligence." (See also Badāonī, Lowe 266).

[4] تقليد, *taqlīd*, imitation and also hypocrisy and superstition.

[5] ماخوليا, *mākholiyā*, *i.e.*, the Greek μελαγχολία.

[6] عطية, *'aṭīyat*, gift or beneficence.

of Eternity—from being cripple has become a courier, and appears both as the runner and the winning-post. And why should this not be when we have, in this enlightened age, the chamber-lamp of the universe, the glory of Adam's race, the unveiler of hidden secrets, the revealer of faultless forms? Or how should these things appear strange in the eyes of the far-seeing and wise, when he is (at once) composer (*nāẓim*) of the institutes of sovereignty, distributor[1] of the riches of the servants of God, hairsplitting discerner of microscopic subtleties, the great lapidary and assaymaster?

So long as the spiritual supremacy over the recluse which is called Holiness and the sway over laymen which is called Sovereignty, were distinct, there was strife and confusion among the children of Noah[2] (mankind). Now that in virtue of his exaltation, foresight, comprehensive wisdom, universal benevolence, pervading discernment and perfect knowledge of God, these two great offices (*manṣab*) which are the guiding thread of the spiritual and temporal worlds, have been conferred on the opener of the hoards of wisdom and claviger of Divine treasuries, a small portion at least,—if his holy nature grant the necessary faculty,—may be brought from the ambush of concealment to the asylum of publicity. Knowest thou at all who is this world-girdling luminary and radiant spirit? Or whose august advent has bestowed this grace? 'Tis he who by virtue of his enlightenment and truth, is the world-protecting[3]

---

1 The meaning is not that Akbar was the almoner of God's servants, in which respect he was indeed, according to Badāonī, very deficient, but that he revealed spiritual mysteries as well as made rules for temporal administration. The word, *qāsim*, *lit.* divider, reminds us of St. Paul's phrase "rightly dividing the word of truth." In this group of four epithets, the first and the third relate apparently, to temporal matters and the second and fourth, to spiritual.

2 Noah is called by Muhammadans, the second Adam.

3 A. F.'s panegyric on Akbar is an extraordinary production, according to our western ideas. Probably, however, it was thought very fine by his countrymen. The original is full of *paronomasia* and parallellisms and these, as also the alliterations and cadenced clauses, make the Persian sound much better than the translation. The composition must have cost the author immense labour, though apparently, the task was not entirely his own, for in Faiẓī's preface to his *Dīwān* we find the epithets here bestowed on Akbar, from *muqarrab* down to *'ālamjān ū jān 'ālam*, *i.e.*, for about eight lines of the text, and nearly in the same order.

sovereign of our age, to wit, that Lord (*Shāhanshāh*) of the hosts of sciences,—theatre of God's power,—station of infinite bounties,—unique of the eternal temple,—confidant[1] of the daïs of unity,—jewel of the imperial mine,—bezel of God's signet-ring,—glory of the *Gūrgān*[2] family,—lamp of the tribe of Timur,[3]—lord of incomparable mystery,—heir of Humāyūn's throne,—origin[4] of the canons of world-government,—author of universal conquest,—shining forehead of the morning of guidance,—focus[5] of the sun of holiness,—sublime[6] concentration of humanity,—heir-apparent of the sun,—anthology of the books of fate and destiny,—protagonist of triumphant armies,—quintessence of the commingling of nights and days,—cream of the progeny of the elements[7] and the heavenly bodies,—world's eye (sun) of benevolence and bounty,—cheek-mole

---

In the *Fundgrüben des Orients* (II. 271), may be found an interesting experiment, made by Joseph von Hammer, at preserving the oriental cadences in a German translation of the Turkish *Humāyūn-nāma*.

[1] مقرّب, *muqarrab*, said to be from the same root as *cherub* and to mean, like it, one who is admitted or near to God's presence, but the preferable opinion is that *cherub* is derived from the Chaldī and means the winged man-bull.

[2] *Gūrgān* is said to mean son-in-law or near relation in Mongolian; (Blochmann 460*n*.) it was a title taken by Tīmūr to indicate his connection with the house of Cingīz Khān. (Sédillot, "*Materiaux*," 261, and Hyde's preface to Ulugh Beg's Tables, IV.)

Ṣāḥib-i-qirān, lord of conjunction;—a name given to Tīmūr, apparently because the planets (? Jupiter and Venus) were in conjunction at his birth, but Hyde says it merely means *dominus potentiae*. The three successive epithets are used in order to indicate that Akbar was, first, the glory of the house of Cingīz Khān; second, the lamp of the house of Timur; third, the heir of Humāyūn; and they lead up to a description of what he was in himself.

[4] The Bib. Ind. ed. omits this phrase, but it occurs in Lucknow ed. and in No. 564 and is evidently genuine, for otherwise a paronomasia or cadence would be lost. The Persian is مبدع قوانين جهانباني, *mubdi' qawānīn-i-jahānbānī* and it rhymes with the next clause which is مخترع قواعد كشور ستاني, *mukhtari' qawā'id kishwar sitānī*.

[5] *Lit.* eye-pupil.

[6] Perhaps, harmonious blend of humanity. Maulvi A. Haq Abīd tells me it may also mean "exalting the offspring of Adam" or "elevating human nature." The original is *garāmī sāz-i-guhar-i-adam*.

[7] The elements are called the earthly mothers, and the planets, the heavenly fathers.

of sovereignty and fortune,—back-bone[1] of the frame of the *Khilāfat*,[2]—bosom-joy of justice and mercy,—brightener (*farūzanda*) of the jewel of fortune and felicity,—exalter (*farāzanda*) of the throne and crown,—connoisseur of the gem of the wise,—appreciator of the pearl of lofty genius,—opening[3] the knots of those trammeled in business,—balm of ulcerated hearts,—clear-thoughted stoic,[4]—world-adorning life-giver,—a pictured soul and incarnate reason,—world of life and life of world,—enlightened truth-seër—lover of the way,—truth-chooser,—of discreet gait and constant intelligence,—wakeful occupant of the throne of morning,—sole tenant of light's *adytum*,—illuminating the Presence Chamber,—knowing the boundaries of the paths,—achiever of universal[5] peace,—site of wondrous gifts,—grandmaster of the grades of sanctity,—initiated in the mysteries of light[6] and darkness,—theatre of Divine and secular truths,—perceiver of the links between the visible[7] and invisible worlds,—knowing secrets, spiritual and temporal,—fountain for those athirst for the sweet waters of communion,—goal of the strayed from the path of perfection,—theatre of refined subtleties and exalted sciences,—resting place of infused knowledge and inspired mysteries,—adorning the travelling litter[8] while in his native land,—light of retirement in

---

1 *Lit.* strength of the back. It is opposed to the next epithet which refers to the *ṣadr*, breast or bosom.

2 *i.e.*, the being God's vicegerent.

3 *i.e.*, solving their difficulties. A. F. applies this phrase to Faiẓī. (*Akbarnāma* III. 673), saying that those who were entangled in intricacies of business, were broken-hearted at Faiẓī's death because there was no longer anyone to explain their difficulties.

4 *Ṣāḥib-dil*, which is often used to mean a Sufi: *lit.* master of one's heart or passions.

5 *Ṣulḥ-i-kull*. The state of being at peace with every one, which A. F. regarded as the perfection of virtue. Cf. Hebrews XII. 14. "Follow after peace with all men."

6 The Lucknow editor renders this "day and night;" Chalmers has, "acquainted with the mysteries of good and evil." A similar phrase, *viz.*, *nuktadān-i-ramōz safīdī ū sīyāhī* —occurs in the *Inshā'*. (Part I, beginning of letter to Ḥakīm Hamām.)

7 تقيدي و اطلاقي, *taqīdī ū iṭlāqī*, fixity and freedom,—meaning the temporal and spiritual world. *Āīn* III. 246. l.10.

8 The Bib. Ind. and Lucknow eds. have *maḥfal ārāī*, ornament of the assemblage, but No. 564 has *maḥmil*, camel-litter, and so had Chalmers' MS. This epithet and the next are repeated in the *Āīn* (III. 249) and are translated by Jarrett (III. 406) "who prepares the litters

society,—apprehending quickly,—retaining long,—giving much, getting little,—pilot of the ship[1] of the universe,—ark[1] of the boundless ocean,—keen-sighted guardian of degrees of honour,—subtle distributor of dignities,—of fortunate genius and auspicious glance,—of happy horoscope and exalted star,—bearer of heavy burdens,—brilliant master of lofty understanding,—ornament of wisdom,—cherisher of the wise,—world-adorning conqueror,—supporting friends,—scattering foes,—binding enemies,—opening countries,—exalter[2] of the thrones of majesty and awe,—uplifter of the cushions of pomp and prosperity,—warder of faith and state,—protector of throne and signet,—beautifier of the seven climes,—adorner of throne and diadem,—rank-breaking royal cavalier,[3]—tiger-throwing falcon,—champion of the battle-field of the Holy War,[4]—combatant stalking over the seven worlds,—bulwark builder

---

of travel while yet abiding in his native land,—a lamp for those who gather in privacy." In a note to the first epithet, Colonel Jarrett adds; "that is, preparing for the world to come while yet in this, or facilitating the salvation of others."

A. F. is never tired of insisting on the dualism of Akbar's nature, and his meaning here seems to be that Akbar had all the graces of a pilgrim while yet in his native land, and that he had the virtues of a hermit while still mingling with society. There can be no doubt that *maḥmil* is the right reading, for *maḥfal* can have nothing to do with travel. I find too, that it is *maḥmil* in the B. M. MSS. Or. Nos. 5610 and 6544.

[1] The Persian word is *safīna* in both cases, but I take the second use of the epithet to refer to Noah's ark. However, *safīna* can also mean a memorandum book and this may be its sense in the first clause. In that case *dīdahbān* would signify *inspector* and the phrase be rendered "Inspector of the book of the universe."

[2] صاعد, *ṣā'ad* from صعد, *ṣ'od*. Chalmers seems to have read ساعد, *sā'ad* arm, for he translates "bracelet of the arm of magnificence and glory." ساعد is also a Sufistic expression for power generally. See Dic. of T. Ts., 640 1.4 fr. foot.

[3] In *Āīn* No. 47 (Book I. Blochmann, 131) Akbar is called the "royal rider (*shāhsawār*) of the plain of auspiciousness." See also A. F.'s explanation of the word *shāhsawār* in his preface to the *Āīn*. (Blochmann *ii*.)

[4] جهاد اکبر, *Jihād-i-akbar*, the Greater Holy War, *viz*., that against one's lusts; the Crescentade or war against infidels being the *Jihād-i-asghar* or Lesser War. In the A. S. B. Per. MSS. Catalogue (170) there are entries of two treatises, one on the *Jihād-i-akbar* and the other on the *Jihād-i-asghar*. Cf. Bunyan's "Holy War" and Bābar's Mem., Erskine, 356, l.2.

of sovereignty and dominion,—base of the columns of instruction and discipline,—holding fast the strong handle of perfect reason,—riveter of the massy chain of universal justice,—all eye[1] in the banquet-hall,—all heart in the battle-field,—in the joyous festival a refreshing cloud,[2]—in the triumphant battle, a blood-drinking sea,—in the fields of bravery, an unsheathed sword,—in the tournament, a polished lance,—a billowy ocean in the world of giving,—a lightning-darting cloud[3] in battle,—his breath, a swaying censer at the soul's feast,—his pleasantness, the waving fan of opening morn,—his justice, equable as *Farwardīn*[4] and of minute discernment,—his temper is like the zephyr of *Ardibihisht*[5] and runs over with smiles,[6]—his nature is experienced and disciplined in the solution of problems,—his flawless intellect is a trusty counsellor in the explication of difficulties,—externally his splendour is that of Jamshīd,[7] and his glory that of Farīdūn,[8]—internally he is Socrates in wisdom, Plato in perception,—he is trained inwardly and outwardly,—his eye and heart are sources of liberality,—he has harmonized tongue and heart, and has made unity[9] partner with plurality,—his vigilance watches over appetite,—his genius treads lust under foot,—his fair-dealing

---

1 *Lit.* in the face of the banqueting room, all eye (or glance); in the heart of the battle-field, all liver (pluck.) *Dar rū-i-bazamgāh tamām nazr, dar dil-ī-razmgāh tamām jigar.*

2 *Lit.* ocean-raining.

3 *Naisān*, a Syrian month, corresponding to April, and being the 7th month of the Syro-Macedonian Calendar, *i.e.*, Greek Era of A. F. It is the *Nisān* or *Abib* of the Jews and the first month of their sacred year, being that of the Passover. There is a saying that when the rain of the month of *Naisān* drops into shells, it produces pearls, and when it falls into the mouths of serpents, it produces poison. See Whinfield's *Gulshan-i-rāz* (57).

4 The first month of the Persian year, corresponding to March-April. It begins with the vernal equinox and hence, perhaps, the allusion to its equability.

5 The second month of the Persian year, corresponding to April-May.

6 Alluding to the sheet-lightnings of spring.

7 An early Persian king, celebrated for his cup or mirror (*jām*) which showed the world.

8 Another early Persian king, son or grandson of Jamshīd and said to have been the first tamer of elephants.

9 *i.e.*, has reconciled solitude and society. See opening of the *Gulshan-i-rāz*, 1.27. *Cf.* also the Wisdom of Solomon, VII, 22, "Alone in kind manifold."

has overturned the petty stalls of fraud and deception,—the touch-stone[1] of his wisdom has separated the gold-encrusted lump[2] from the solid gold.

He rends the garment of contumacy[3] which wraps the faces of debts,[4] but draws the mantle of forgiveness over the heads of transgressions; the splendour of power streams from the brow of his benevolence; the lightning of benignity draws lambent[5] lights from the fires of his wrath. His fury melts adamantine boldness; his dread turns to water the courage of the iron-souled; the shrinking

---

1 *'Ayār-dānish*, test of wisdom. This is the title of A. F.'s translation of the *Kalīlah Damnah* or rather of his revision of the *Anwāri Suhailī*. (Blochmann, 106 and S. de Saçy, "*Notices et Extraits*," X. 197). There is here probably an allusion to *Āīn* No. 5 (Blochmann, Book I. 18), where we are told that Akbar had invented modes of purifying gold.

2 *Qalb-i-zar andūd az zar-i-gohar-āmūd*. The text has an *ū* after the second *zar* which would be better away and which does not occur in No. 564.

3 تجبّر, *tajabbur*. The word also means restitution or restoration of property, and we might give this meaning here and interpret the phrase to signify that Akbar releases debtors from the obligation of restitution which lies like a veil over their faces. But I think that the translation *contumacy* is right and that there is an antithesis between this and the following clause. A. F. means that Akbar compelled the contumacious to fulfil their obligations, *i.e.*, made them pay their fines, taxes, compensations for injuries and other debts but that, at the same time, he was forgiving to offenders. See *Āīn* No. 2 (Blochmann, Book II. 13), with the account of the distinction between exchequer-lands and fiefs. See also *Āīn* No. 19 (Blochmann Book II., 268).

4 غرایم, *fines* or *mulcts* or *debts*. There are two *āīns* devoted to the subject of fines, *viz.*, Nos. 48 and 57 (Blochmann, Book I. 131 and 140) one being headed غرامت and the other تاوان. No. 564 explains the word غرایم by تاوان. Even grandees were fined and for certain offences elephant-drivers were liable to capital punishment. See Blochmann's note to *Āīn* No. 83 (217). For *tajabbur*, the B. M. MS. Or. No. 6544 has تحریر, writing, and Chalmers' MS. seems to have had this reading for he translates, "He tears the screen "of writing from the face of his "intent." Apparently, as Mr. Beames has suggested to me, Chalmers read عزایم *'azāīm*, intentions, instead of غرایم *gharāīm*.

5 *Lit. tongues of light*. The two clauses are opposed; in spite of his benevolence, he is terrible; in spite of his wrath, he is lovely. Orientals regard lightning as an object of beauty rather than of terror.

of the age is the impress of the wrinkling of his brows; its expansion the reflex of his nature's blossoming.

Prayers for his permanence have stationed themselves on the tongue of small and great; love and belief in him repose in the hearts of young and old; the loftiness of his fame has lowered the glory of local magnates; the majesty of his dominion has put away the rulers of the quarters of the world; the echo of his fortune has opened the ears of the princes of the horizons; the ensign[1] of his glory has lifted up the eyes of provincial kings;[2] his mighty fame has mingled with the spheres; the sound of his glory has passed from shore to shore; the proclamation of his bounty has transgressed the boundaries of the world;[3] his glorious court has become the native land of the elect of the seven climes; his daily increasing dominion has become the masterpiece of epochs and cycles; his glorious ascension, the auspicious frontispiece of stars and planets.

VERSE.

That King of Kings, prop of the sky!
The umbrella of his fortune is the sky's shadow;
Adorning the garden-plot of wisdom and knowledge;
Exalting the throne and the diadem;—
The seat of his power is rich in liberality;
His fortune's shape has an open brow;
His presence is the truth-seekers' cynosure;
His pity a fountain-head for the thirsty;
By a single thought,[4] he has placed under foot

---

1 كوكبة, *kaukaba*, a steel ball suspended to a pole and carried as an ensign. (Blochmann, 50.)

2 *Mulūk-i-ṭawā'if*, tribal kings. It might be rendered kings of the Gentiles and was the name given to the satraps, established by Alexander and Tīmūr. (Albīrūnī's "Chronicle of Ancient Nations." Sachau, 116 and 401. Mas'ūdī, II. 132, Meynard et P. de Courteille). Cf. Isaiah, XIV., 9.

اقصاء شش جهة, *aqṣā'i shash jihat*; *lit.* the six sides of the surface, meaning the six sides of a cube, *i.e.*, the world. The regular Arabic expression for this appears to be مسدّس عالم, *mussadasi 'ālam*, the six sides of the world, *viz.*, up and down, fore and aft, right and left. (Steingass, *s. v.*). The world is also called ششدري *shashdarī*, six-doored.

4 Or it may be, "He has placed under the foot of unanimity." The meaning is that he has united sovereignty and sanctity.

The royal divan and the dervish's carpet.
The nine heavens revolve for his purpose;
The seven stars[1] travel for his work;
By wisdom, he is the age's provider;
By vigilance, the world's watchman;
His love and his hate, in the banquet and the battle,
Are brimming cups of wine and blood;
The *khāqān*[2] fears his wrath;
Cæsar[3] is disturbed at his frown;
Heaven in glory, Earth in stability;[4]
Lord of universal reason,[5] *Jalālu-d-dīn*.[6]
Essence of sunlight and shadow of God,
Pearl of crown and throne is Akbar Shāh.
May this old world be renewed by him!
May his star be the sun's rays!

This empty-handed one, who, from lack of the capital of praise, had neither room to sit nor a leg to stand upon, became, through the above excellent idea and firm resolve, a treasury full of the Creator's praise; a marvellous treasury,—for its store increased by expenditure and diminished by hoarding. By force of sincerity, I became an alchemist, and enriched my poverty-stricken soul. I put forth the arm of fortune aud opened the door of the treasury. I was fortunate, I became rich. I was fluent, I became eulogistic. I crossed the threshold of allegory and opened the door of truth. I was simple, I became acute. The door of success which was shut in front of me, was divinely opened. My dejection became exalta-

[1] *i.e.*, the five planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn,—and the Sun and Moon. There is a similar passage in the *Āīn* (III. 249, l.12).

[2] Great Khān, the name given to the ruler of Chinese Tartary or of China.

[3] The two titles stand for the rulers of the East and West. Turkish kings, *e.g.* Bāyazīd Ilderim, were styled *Qaisar-i-rūm* even before the capture of Constantinople. The lines are perhaps Faiẓī's. *Cf.* his *Nal Daman*. Bombay, 1831, p. 30. The literal rendering of the lines is "The *khāqān* dreads the heat of his sweat; Cæsar is disturbed at the fold of his brow."

[4] A. F. did not know of the Copernican theory.

[5] *'Aql-i-kull*, the phrase used by Sufis to express the *Logos* or first emanation from God.

[6] One of Akbar's names, "the glory of faith."

tion; my inaction, flowing activity; my speechlessness, effective speech. I was taken from the public entrance to the royal apartments; a fluent tongue was granted to me, the tongueless one, and the right of speech was conceded to me.

I wished that before entering on my subject,—as it has been the usage of former writers of all nations to embellish the preambles[1] of their books after praises of God with general or special salutations to those great saints and masters of the divine mysteries who, after lighting up the lamp of guidance and effusion in the world's dark chamber, have gone down to the grave;—I too, might so adorn this collection of Divine praise and gratify my heart by saluting that Company which from its eminence and knowledge of God, occupies the intellectual fore-court of this humble individual. But inasmuch as this one who has left the path of semblance and followed after truth, is aware that if a distracted one should, on finding his way into the royal court, utter encomia on the field-marshals or wish by his intervention, to make the favour of the Lord of the Age fall upon the Prime Minister,[2] he would but prove his own folly and madness.

What strength has Sahā[3] to praise the shining Moon to the

---

1 عنون, *'unwān*, title-page or frontispiece.

2 بگلر بیگي *baglarbegī*, a Turkish title meaning Bey of Beys, i.e., Chief of Chiefs. Apparently it should be بگي *begī* and not *begī*. It corresponds to *Āmīru-l-umarā* and was a title given to the Governor General of Rumelia and Anatolia and also to any Generalissimo. See Zenker's Turkish Dictionary.

3 Sahā or Suhā is an obscure star in the Great Bear and used as a test of eyesight. It is also called الصدق. Al Ṣadiq. (Lane's Arabic Dictionary 1456*a*). Sahā and Suhail (Canopus) are often contrasted and apparently, this is not from their difference in brightness only, but also from their difference in position, —the one being a northern and the other a southern star. Sahā is also contrasted with the Sun. See *Anwārī Suhailī* (Hertford Introduction, 21,) Sahā is catalogued as "No. 80 by Zeta," which is the second star in the tail of the Great Bear and is called by the Arabs *El 'Anaq*, the Goat. Golius and others have wrongly described Sahā as being the southernmost star of the quadrilateral. Sahā is apparently called also Alcor. The name Sahā is said to come from *saho*, forgotten, but according to Albīrūnī (India. Sachau I. 389) Al Sahā was a pious woman who was a companion of the seven *Rishis*.

The Germans call Sahā, the *Reuter*, Cavalier, because, I suppose, he seems to ride on the second horse of the team of Charles' Wain. See Hyde's *Syntagma* I. 15 and Ideler's *Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1809, 292 and 422.

glorious Sun? It is sufficient honour and glory to describe itself in that Presence as an insignificant atom. In that Presence where the favoured magnates of the Court to whom the power of recommending a tiny ant has not been vouchsafed, have not received permission to express their wishes, how can it be proper for one who, like myself, is remaining on the threshold and is without right of access, to solicit grace and favour for the chosen courtiers and to ask pardon and paradise[1] for them. If he should, from inconsideration, lengthen the tongue of boldness, by what name would he be called in the justice-hall of discernment, and what reproach would he not receive from the Inquisitor of Justice? I therefore gave up that idea and made myself ready, so that, if my abilities permitted and the Divine aid were vouchsafed to me, I might reduce to writing the auspicious description of the King of manifestation and reality,—the leader of religion and realm (*dīn ū dunyā*),—and might bring together his beautiful[2] and awful attributes and the praises of his majesty and perfection; to wit,—the marvellous festivals, wondrous wars, exalted devotions, and pleasant ways of this chosen one of God, without the disagreeable admixtures of poetical[3] prose writers. So that I might acquit myself of my duties of (1) worship, (2) loyalty, (3) gratitude, and might also establish a claim to the regard of newcomers to the world and of future travellers by life's caravans.

Though each one of those four points[4] was a powerful motive

[1] رضوان, *riẓwān*, the gate-keeper of Paradise and also Paradise itself. It also means blessing or benediction and may do so here.

[2] *Ṣifāt-i-jamāl ū jalāl*, in Sufistic language, the beautiful and the awful attributes.

[3] A. F. says, that on the fifth revision of his work, he inserted some couplets because good writers regard the admixture of verse as the salt (*lit. salt-cellar*) of prose. (Jarrett III. 415). He may also have been influenced by Akbar's remark that whoever introduced the verses of another into his writings or recited them aptly, displayed both his own merit and that of the author. (Jarrett III. 386). Perhaps the above passage was written before the thought occurred to him, and was retained because it meant that he would not interlard his prose with poetry in the manner of some previous writers of history, *e.g.*, 'Abdu-l-lāh (Waṣṣāf) who is even more rhetorical than A. F. There may also be a reference to the author of the *Ẓafarnāma* who has many bad verses.

[4] Chalmers, the Lucknow ed. and No. 564 substantially unite in saying that the four things or points are: 1. Akbar's beautiful and awful

for entering upon this great task, yet, as my aim was lofty and ability small, success was not attained nor my desire achieved until this light shone on the antechamber of my truth-reflecting heart; to wit—"In this noble enterprise, at the same time that you dis-"charge your duty to the creature, you are also fulfilling your "obligations to the Creator. While you are paying your devoirs of "respect and gratitude, you are in reality, steadfastly engaged in "praising God, the Creator of the world." Day by day, my purpose was growing confirmed and the materials of success were being collected, until at length, out of general good-will to the partakers of his felicity and from special favour to me, his charmed one,[1] a ray of intimation from the court of liberality reached this—as regards his sincerity,—forerunner on the highway of loyalty, but—as regards attainment[2] of desires,—hindermost (member) of the caravans of

---

attributes; 2. praise of his majesty and perfection; 3. his feasts and his wars; 4. his holiness and pleasant ways. But this seems wrong and to be partially occasioned by an erroneous reading. The text and one or two MSS. have *tā ḥaqq-i-'abūdīyat ū irādat-i-walī ni'mat guzārda bāsham*. But nearly all the MSS. have *irādat ū ni'mat*, missing out the *walī* and this appears the true reading. We thus have three duties or points, *viz.*, worship, loyalty and gratitude which with the duty to posterity, make up the four points. The text, however, may be correct and the points be made up by regarding the "newcomers" and posterity as two distinct classes. The word *ḥaqqī* in the phrase *ū ham ḥaqqī bar nūrasān*, probably has two meanings, *viz.*, duty towards posterity and the establishment of a claim by the author to the gratitude of posterity. The phrase *ḥaqqī sābit gardānīda* is evidently used in antithesis to the *ḥaqq guzārda*. Chalmers renders the passage "establish rectitude in the tender saplings of mortality and in the travellers of the caravans of existence." All these, however, were only duties towards or rights of the creature and so not sufficient to excite our author till he saw that in performing them, he would also be doing his duty to his Creator.

1 *Īn nazarkarda-i-khud, lit.* this one upon whom his glance had fallen, *i.e.*, his gazed one, protégé or client. See *Āīn* I. 24, for use of *nazarkarda*, A. F. (*Akbarnāma* III. 114) describes how the glamour of Akbar's glance fell upon him in the mosque at Fatḥpūr Sikrī. *Cf.* Old English "overlooked."

2 Perhaps, *the grandeur of his aspirations*, عزّ مراد *'izz-i-murād*. The meaning may be that his works did not equal his faith, *i.e.*, that the spirit was willing but the flesh weak.

felicity; and to Abu-l-faẓl, son of Mubārak, upon the crown[1] of whose heart is the quadripartite cap[2] of discipleship and whose seven times embroidered sleeve[3] of devotion is celebrated throughout the eighteen thousand creations, this sublime mandate was given. "Write with the pen of sincerity the account of the glorious events

1 "*Tārak*, properly the crown of the head." Blochmann 549*n*. It is used here for the sake of the assonance with *tark*.

2 كلاه چهار ترکي, *kulāh-i-cahār-tarkī*, the four-segmented cap. The reference seems to be to the symbolical caps worn by dervishes ("The Dervishes." J. P. Brown. Trübner, 1868, pp. 53, 88, 148). Speaking of the order of "*Bektashees*," Mr. Brown says (148) "*Tāj* is the "name of the cap which all wear "in common. It is made of white "felt and is in four parts. The first "shows that the wearer has given up "the world; the second that he has "abandoned all hopes of Paradise; "the third that he disdains all hypo-"crisy and (it) means that the der-"vish cares not whether he is seen or "not, praying, and is wholly indiffer-"ent to public opinion; the fourth is "the total abandonment of all the "pleasures of life and that he belongs "to and is fully satisfied with Allah "alone. Their names also are *She-"ree'at, Tareekat, Hakeekat* and *Ma'ri-"fat*." *Tark* means a segment, section or gore and also a string and a helmet. The Lucknow editor says that the four *tarks* signify the four elements, but this is doubtful. *Tark* has also the sense of abandonment and dervishes mean, by their *tarks*, the abandonment of the world, etc. The sect known as the Qādirīs, wear a fourfold cap, *i.e.*, one with four *tarks*. This may signify the abandonment of this world, of the next, of respect of men and, fourthly, of every thing except God. A. F. may also be referring to the four degrees of devotion mentioned by Blochmann (A. F.'s Preface vn.) and by Badāonī (Lowe, 299 and 314) and which consisted in the surrender of four things, *viz.*, Goods, Life, Fame, Faith. Hence the appropriateness of the word *cahār-tarkī*, as this may be rendered *the four abandonments* or *surrenders*. *Irādat* too may mean desire and inclination, as well as devotion and discipleship so that the whole phrase may signify *the cap of the fourfold abandonment of desires*. It is in such many-sided expressions that the author delights.

Writing of Maulavīs, Kaempfer in his valuable work on Persian customs, "*Amœnitates Exoticæ*" says, (p. 113), "*In vestitu nil peregrini habent, nisi mitram quatuor conspicuam plicis, ex fastigio ad oram decurrentibus.*"

3 آستین هفت طراز عقیدت بر هژده هزار عالم افشانده

Āstīn-i-haft-ṭarāz-i-'aqīdat bar hażhda hazār 'ālam afshānda, lit., whose seven-broidered sleeve of devotion has been shed over the 18,000 species. Seven is a mystic number and there may here be a reference to the seven valleys of the *Manṭiqu-ṭ-ṭā'ir* of Farīdu-d-dīn 'Attār. The seven broideries may mean embroidery in seven different colours and be typical

and of our dominion-increasing victories." What shall I say was the effect of this order for describing the occurrences ?[1] Did it grant permission to undertake the task by bestowing on me the necessary genius ? or did it, by a grant of felicity to my heart, appoint me the

---

of the seven *Paths*, etc. See Brown l. c. 93. *Āstīn afshāndan* means to applaud by clapping the hands, to dance, and to scatter gifts. It also has the contrary meaning of abandoning or refusing. See Vullers and the *Burhān-i-qātī' s. v.* A. F. seems here to play upon these meanings, but his primary intention probably was to signify that he was renowned throughout the world for his devotion. Chalmers perhaps read *anishānda* or *nishānda* and translates "who was re-"nowned among the 18,000 creatures "for the seven times embroidered "sleeve of trustiness." Perhaps we might translate, "whose seven em-"broidered sleeve of loyalty has show-"ered gifts over the 18,000 species," or, without the *izāfat*—"Whose "seven-broidered sleeve has showered "loyalty over the 18,000 species."

It would seem that the language was originally Faiẓī's, for we find it in the preface to his translation of the *Līlāvatī* (B. M. MSS. Or. No. 5649, p. 4). It is also in the printed edition of his translation. (Calcutta 1828, p. 2). In the MS. the phrase runs thus;—

بندهٔ کمترین درگاه سعادت و ذرهٔ خاک
نشین آستان ارادت فیضی که کلاه چهار
ترکی اخلاص چهارگوشه با سر دل مانده
و آستین هفت طراز عقیدت بر هژده هزار
عالم افشانده.

Banda-i-kamtarīn-i-dargāh-i-sa'ādat ū ẕara khāk-nishīn-i-āstān-i-irādat Faiẓī ki kulāh-i-ċahār-tarkī-i-ikhlāṣ-i-ċahār-gōsha bar sar-i-dil mānda ū āstīn-i-haft-ṭarāz-i-'aqīdat bar hazhda hazār 'ālam afshānda.

It should be remembered that Faiẓī projected writing an *Akbarnāma* on the model of the *Baḥrī-sikandarnāma* of Niẓāmī and that he, apparently, had begun its composition (*Inshā* III). It is probable that some of A. F.'s most flowery passages are borrowed from his brother's incomplete poem.

Possibly the expression about the 18,000 species, has reference to A. F.'s oft repeated assertions that he had arrived at the state of *ṣulḥ-i-kull*, perfect peace with all men. It may be noted that the sleeve mentioned is the wide sleeve of the Oriental which may be opened out and folded over the face. The expression *sleeve of devotion* has nothing in common with Shakespeare's "ravelled sleave of care," where *sleave* means an entangled skein.

The simplest rendering of the whole passage is something like this;—"Mubārak's son, Abu-l-faẓl, "in whose heart dwell the four "Renunciations, and the praise of "whose sevenfold devotion has gone "out to the ends of the earth."

[1] I think this must be the meaning, though the phrase might mean "What shall I say? Was this a "command for me to compose the "memoirs?" as Chalmers has translated it. The objection to this rendering is that we have just been told he had received a clear order.

recorder of glorious events? or did it bestow eloquence on one rude[1] of speech? Nay! nay! it gave wings to my words and feet to my pen. It was an invisible angel, conveying from the upper world, life-giving news of joy. It was the Archangel[2] Gabriel bringing down a revelation from the antechamber of Omnipotence.

Assuredly, I spent[3] much labour and research in collecting the records and narratives of his Majesty's actions and I was a long time interrogating the servants of the State and the old members of the illustrious family.[4] I examined both prudent, truth-speaking old

---

[1] اعجمي, *a'jamī*. Chalmers seems to have read عجمي, *'ajamī* and so translates *zabān-i-'ajamī*, the Persian tongue. This is also the reading of the Lucknow ed. but *a'jamī* seems to be right. A. F. speaks of his having a stammering tongue, *kaj-maj zabān*. (*Āīn* II, 254).

[2] ناموس اكبر, *nāmūs-i-akbar*, lit. the chief confidant of God. (Dozy 2725*b*.) A. F. also uses this phrase to mean reason. (*Āīn* I. 13). No doubt it is used here partly for the play upon the word *Akbar*. In a Circular Order preserved in the *Inshā'* (Part I.) we have the phrase *Nāmūs-i-akbar ū qānūn-i-ā'ẓam-i-sulṭānat*.

[3] See for another account of the inception of the task and of his labours, the conclusion of the *Āīn* (Jarrett, 400–417).

[4] Princess Gulbadan, the sister of Hindāl, aunt of Akbar, and widow of Khiẓr Khwāja, wrote her *Memoirs* in accordance with Akbar's request and apparently as material for the *Akbarnāma* (Rieu's Catalogue I. 227*a*. and MS. Or. No. 166). Her little book, called apparently the *Humāyūnnāma*, gives interesting details about Humāyūn's marriage with Akbar's mother and deserves publication and translation. She mentions that she was eight years old when her father Bābar died.

In the India Office, there is a MS. (No. 216) called the *Tārīkh-i-humāyūn* which was composed by Akbar's orders for the use of A. F. It was dictated by Bāyazīd, who had been *Mīr Sāmān*, steward or superintendent of the kitchen, under Humāyūn to a clerk of Abu-l-faẓl at Lahor. An examination of the book does not show that the author called it the *Tārīkh-i-humāyūn*, and such a title would be inadequate. Apparently the only name given to it by the author is that of *Mukhtaṣar* (Abridgment). It is in fact a book of Memoirs and comes down to the date of writing, *viz.*, 999 (1590). It begins in 949 (1542), with Humāyūn's flight to Persia, and is a personal narrative of events from that date. Many events in Akbar's reign are described, *e.g.*, the murder of Shamsu-d-dīn by Adham Khān (105 *a* and *b*) and Khwāja Muaẓẓim's murder of his wife. (105*b* and 106*a*). A valuable feature of the book is its lists of officers, especially the long one of those who accompanied Humāyūn to India. The author was Bakāwal Begī (Superintendent of the Kitchen)

men and active-minded, right-actioned young ones and reduced their statements to writing. The royal commands were issued to the provinces, that those who from old service remembered, with certainty or with adminicle of doubt, the events of the past, should copy out their notes and memoranda and transmit them to Court. Inasmuch as this auspicious invitation was not fully responded to nor my wish fully accomplished, a second command shone forth from the holy Presence-chamber; to wit—that the materials which had been collected, should be faired out and recited in the royal hearing, and that whatever might have to be written down afterwards, should be introduced into the noble volume as a supplement, and that such details as on account of the minuteness of the inquiries and the *minutiae* of affairs, could not then be brought to an end,[1] should be inserted afterwards at my leisure. Being relieved by this royal order,—the interpreter of the Divine ordinance,—from the secret

in Akbar's time, and his full name appears to be Bāyazīd Sulṭān (158*b* last line). He was attached to Mun'im Khān and has many details about Kābul and the war in Bengal. Nine copies of the work were made, *viz.*, two (including one that got mislaid) for the King's Private Library, three for the Royal Princes, one for the library of Gulbadan whom the author calls the mother of the king's servants, and two for Abu-l-faẓl's library. The ninth was probably the original, and remained with the author.

Bāyazīd, known as Bāyazīd Bāyat, is quoted by Raverty (Notes on Afghānistān) and the B. M. has a MS. (Add. No. 26, 610) which contains an apparently complete trs. of Bāyazīd's Memoirs by Erskine. (Rieu's Cat. II. Pref. XX). Both text and trs. merit publication.

1 Apparently *farū guzāshtan* here means to complete or bring to an end and not, to neglect or pass over. See Vullers *s. v. guzāshtan*, 954*b* and the quotation there given from the *Burhān-i-qāṭi'*. With regard to this account of the collection of materials, it should be remembered that the *Āīn* with all its wealth of tables and other statistics is part of the *Akbarnāma* and that the author was probably referring to his difficulties in getting full topographical details. What he seems here to mean is that he was disturbed in his mind at not getting full answers to his inquiries for local information and that Akbar relieved him by telling him to set to work on the material he had, and to leave other details to be inserted afterwards. We have (*Āīn* II. 14, Jarrett III. 23) the skeleton of an elaborate astronomical table which appears to be blank in all the MSS. Colonel Jarrett supposes that the entries were left to be made at a later time and that the matter was afterwards forgotten or the required information never obtained.

anxiety of my heart, I proceeded to reduce into writing the rough draughts which were void of the graces of arrangement and style. I obtained the chronicle of events beginning at the nineteenth year of the Divine Era, when the Record Office[1] was established by the enlightened intellect of his Majesty, and from its rich pages I gathered the accounts of many events. Great pains too, were taken to procure originals or copies of most of the orders[2] which had been issued to the provinces from the Accession up to the present day which is the dawn of Fortune's morning.[3] Their sacred contents yielded much material for the sublime volume. I also took much trouble to incorporate many of the reports which ministers and high officials had submitted, about the affairs of the empire and the events of foreign countries.[4] And my labour-loving soul was satiated by the apparatus of inquiry and research. I also exerted myself energetically to collect the rough notes and memoranda of sagacious and well-informed men. By these means, I constructed a reservoir

---

1 قانون واقعهٔ نویسي, *qānūn-i-wāqi-'a-nawīsī*. (Blochmann 258, *Āīn* No. 10). There were 14 clerks employed in the Office, *viz.*, two for each day. It was established in the 19th year, 982 (1574). (*Akbarnāma* III. 118). In the same year A. F. entered the Emperor's service and we may reasonably suppose that the institution of the Record Office was partly due to his suggestion.

2 Two *dastūr-ul-'amal* (Circulars) to the local authorities are preserved in the first volume of *Inshā* and much of them (with modifications and additions) is to be found in the *Āīn* (Jarrett II. 37, 66, etc.).

3 We might here have expected A. F. to use this language with reference to the Accession and not to delay the "dawn of fortune's morning" till 40 years of the reign had passed away. But clearly he refers it to the time of his writing. There is a similar passage in Akbar's letter to 'Abdu-l-lāh Khān of Tūrān. (*Akbarnāma* III. 707, l. 8) where the phrase is used with reference to the 41st year and apparently to the completion of the conquest of the Deccan and the establishment of universal peace.

4 This passage might be compendiously rendered *Home and Foreign Affairs*. The phrase used for foreign countries is *Aknāf-i-wilāyat*, borders of foreign countries. Blochmann says (Prosody of the Persians, VI.) that *wilāyat*, in Indian prose writers and poets, means Kābul and Persia, and it is possible that Persia is intended here. But I should think Tūrān and Europe were also referred to. A. F. would not be likely to speak of Kābul as *wilāyat* because he regarded it as part of the empire and has described it among the *sūbas*.

for irrigating and moistening the rose garden[1] of fortune. But inasmuch as, notwithstanding all this apparatus and these rich treasures of information, the House of History[2] was become decayed from lapse of time, and there were contradictions and imperfections in the accounts and no sufficient means of clearing up difficulties,—I begged the correction of what I had heard from his Majesty who, by virtue of his perfect memory, recollects every occurrence in gross and in detail, from the time he was one year old—when the material[3] reason came into action—till the present day when he is, by his wisdom, the cynosure of penetrating truth-seekers. By repeated interviews I arrived at correctness and erased doubts and difficulties with the knife of investigation and ascertainment. When peace had possessed my soul, I made honesty and lavish labour, conductors of the lofty undertaking. I trust that I shall, by help of sincerity, accomplish my task, and that, having gathered such of the wondrous new fruit of the garden of creations, and catalogue of the Creator's masterpieces as my understanding can grasp, I may display them so that a lamp of vision may be set up at the head of Wisdom's Way for the darkened of heart, and that the store of the enlightened may be augmented. *Laus Deo!* What a blessed thing it is that I am paying my devotions to God behind the curtain of service to my sovereign, and that while setting forth the code of regulations of the outer and inner world and the duties of sovereignty and servitude for all mankind from the king to the beggar, I am acquiring a stock of eternal merit for myself.

Author's Note.

As I consider it would be disrespectful to mention on every occasion in this book—which is a record of Divine praise—the sublime name of this King of the Horizons, I use the phrase *Ḥazrat Shāhanshāhī*, his Majesty, King of kings, and for the deceased[4] sovereign, his Majesty's illustrious father, I avoid prolixity, by using the phrase, *Jahānbānī*[5] *Jannat-āshiyānī*. I indicate the venerable mother of the holy one by the title

1 Meaning the *Akbarnāma*.

2 *Khāna-i-naql*. Cf. *Āīn* III. 193. "Whereas the City of History (*Shahristān-i-naql*) is in ruins."

3 *'Aql-i-kaiyūlānī*.

4 غفران قباب, *Ghufrān-qibāb*, lit., cupola of pardon or absolution.

5 Guardian of the world—whose nest is in Paradise. A. F. sometimes uses one and sometimes both epithets when referring to Humāyūn.

Miryam-makānī,[1] a majestic epithet which passed into the enlightened mind of his Majesty, the king of kings. I style the revered grandfather of the Lord of the World, *Ḥazrat Gītī-sitānī-i-Fardōs-makānī*[2] and thereby abridge his designations.

NOTE.

R. A. S. No. 117 has a curious addition to the account of the mandate (*ante* 27) which A. F. received to write the history of Akbar's achievements. After *afshānda*, it has "*Dar bīst-ū-dūyam Isfandarmaz mah, sana sī-ū-siyūm-i-Ilāhī ḥukm shud*," etc. "On 22nd *Isfandārmaz*, 33rd of the Divine Era, an order was given." Lower down where it is stated that a second commandment was issued (ante page 29) the same MS. has "*Dar rūz isnād Ardibihisht sana sī-ū-cahārum ki siyum Rajab nuh-ṣad-ū-nuwad-ū-haft ḥukm mujadd shud.*" "On 26th Ardibihisht of the 34th year, or 3rd Rajab 997, a second order was issued." I have not found these clauses in any other MS., but they are hardly likely to have been interpolated by the copyist and the first date appears to agree with A. F.'s other statements, for in the *Āīn* (Jarrett III. 416) he says that he was seven years employed on the history which with the year or so occupied in the collection of materials might bring the completion of the work to the 41st or 42nd of Akbar.

---

1 *Miryam* is Miriam or Mary and the epithet has been variously rendered—*she who dwells with Mary,—is of the household of Mary,*—and *who is of equal rank with Mary—viz.*, the Virgin Mary. (The Virgin is one of Muḥammad's four perfect women). Akbar did not invent the epithet, for it was borne by his great-grandmother, the mother of Bābar. (See Khafī Khān I. 35). Jahāngīr's wife, Jodh Bāi, was called *Miryam-i-zamānī*, the Mary of the Age. I think the word *Makānī*, in Ḥamīda Bānū's title must be translated, *rank* or *station*, and not *household*, for it was given to her in her life-time. It almost looks as though Akbar liked the title because it agreed with his resemblance to the Messiah. It was said that the two resembled one another in speaking in the cradle. See account of miracle wrought by the infant Akbar to comfort Jījī Anaga (*Akbarnāma* I. 187 and *Dabistān* III. 50, trs.). With reference to this incident A. F. calls Akbar *Masīḥā-wār*, Messiah-like.

2 Conqueror of the world, abidin in Paradise.

CHAPTER I.[1]

ACCOUNT OF SUNDRY SECRET ANNUNCIATIONS AND HOLY MANIFESTATIONS WHICH TOOK PLACE BEFORE HIS MAJESTY'S AUSPICIOUS BIRTH.

It is not hidden from the mirror-hearts of the quick-sighted and far-seeing—who know the mysteries of truth, and who show forth the secrets behind the divine veils, and are curtain-openers of elemental (*i.e.*, terrestrial and celestial) mysteries—that the profound wisdom and secret power of the Creator ordain that it is by the weddings of heavenly[2] sires with earthly mothers, and after various cycles of lunar[3] aspects, and of applications,[4] of syzygies and oppositions of the sun and moon, of conjunctions of the superior[5] and inferior planets, risings and settings, appearances and disappearances of stars, lunar and solar eclipses, qualities of exaltations and falls,[6] influences of zeniths and nadirs,[7] and the like, (which are architects in the workshop of production and change, and artists in the picture-gallery of invention and contrivance) that the unique one comes forth from the secret inner chambers into the palace of manifestation,

---

1 Chalmers breaks off here, and does not resume his translation till page 102 of the text.

2 The author here displays his learning by giving a string of astronomical and astrological terms. The planets and other heavenly bodies are the sires, and the four elements are the earthly mothers, though the latter may also be "elect ladies," such as Alang-goa (Alanqūā) and Maryam-makānī.

3 امتزاج, *imtizāj*, union or mixture; but it appears to be also a term for the lunar aspects. See Dic. of T. T. 1323.

4 اتصال, *ittiṣāl*, approximation or propinquity. It is an astrological term corresponding to the *continuation* or *application* of European astrologers and is the opposite of انصراف, *inṣirāf*, separation.

5 The superior planets are Saturn, Jupiter and Mars,—as being above or beyond the orbit of the Sun,—and the inferior are Venus, Mercury and the Moon.

6 A planet falls when it is in the house and degree opposite to those of its exaltation, *i.e.*, is six heavens, 180°, from them. Thus the Sun's exaltation is 19° Aries and his fall 19° Libra. The Sun is a planet, according to the Ptolemaic system.

7 اوج و حضیض, *auj ū ḥaẓīẓ*. This may also mean the *apsides*, *i.e.*, the apogee and perigee or aphelion and perihelion. *Auj* (Pers. *auk* or *aug*), was used to signify the apogee of a planet.